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173 kena. The men besieging the cave " . . . had made twenty holes in a row in the cliff above and they stood in the holes one behind the others."

When Kainga reathes Poie he calls to him: "You have food, I have none; I shall not kill you, I will go back; but another day I will kill you." Later he asks Maikuku, a Tupahotu, to give his daughter to Poie. That is the reason why Poie's father-in-law is willing to betray him when Kainga comes to kill him.

Most of the variations in Vives Solar's version result from misunderstanding or invented details, but some of them contain complementary details:

The name of the warrior whose bones have been used to make fishhooks has been confused with the expression meaning "thin bones." The names of the chiefs in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui are Te Toke-heu and Te Toke-kai. After victory, Kainga and Te Toke-(?) divide the land. Kainga takes the region of Hanga-nui and Toke-(?) the region of Poike. There are thirty men left in the cave and thirty on the islet Marotiri. They marry the women of the other district which they had captured.

The final episode, "The death of Poie," in Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 315-318) contains some errors: Maikuku is the wife of Poie's father-in-law. She is not the one who betrays him by showing her head, although the song clearly refers to the bald head of Maikuku. Poie-poki, son of Poie, is mentioned but does not figure in the story. Probably he is the one who advises his father of the danger threatening. (Routledge's version states it was the daughter of Poie who advised him of the ambush; in my version she is given as his wife.) The boy Kirireva tortures Poie and kills him by passing between his legs and pushing him down from the cliff.

The episodes at the end of Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 318-320) have been recorded by him only: A brother of Poie, Taka-aure, succeeded in escaping and concealing himself between rocks. He returned to Hanga-roa and married. Many years later his sons walked on the side of Rano-raraku. They were called to by an old man who asked them if they were the sons of Poie. He told them he was Kirireva who had killed their uncle [father] and that he was ready to give himself to them to be dealt with as they wished. He only asked for permission to take a bath and to put on a new loin cloth and a new cloak.

The young men brought Kirireva to Hanga-roa to show him to their mother. The mother advised them to forget about revenge because so many years had passed since the death of Poie. Besides, the relatives of Kirireva could start a revenge war. In the end, they put the old man into a hole, covered him with leaves, and burned him. The corpse was covered with ashes.

Destruction of the Images

173 By 1864 there was not a single statue which had not been overthrown
● 727 from the burial platforms (171, p. 177). Both Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and
778 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) were struck by the number of images lying on the ground, and G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) remarks that on the same ahu some statues remained standing while others had fallen. In 1815 Kotzebue (127, vol. 1, p. 141) looked in vain for the images near Hanga-roa Bay described by Cook and La Pérouse, but he did see some standing when he turned the south point of the island. Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), when he skirted the western coast in 1838, was the last white man to see an ahu surmounted by its statues. Thus the overthrowing of the last statues must have occurred between 1838 and 1864. This is fully confirmed by native tradition, which attributes the destruction of the monuments to the

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wars which broke out before the arrival of white men. De Lapelin (129, p. 122, note 1) received information from eyewitnesses: 173 727 778

> The statues were overthrown not long ago. Daniel, an employee of Mr. Brander in Tahiti, saw these new iconoclasts at work. During their intertribal wars, the victorious party threw down the statues of the defeated. If the statues of Rano-raraku are still standing it is because the district was never invaded. At least this is the explanation given by many of the emigrants here in Tahiti.

Likewise from emigrants in Tahiti comes Jaussen's statement (115, p. 245): "In our days, when the natives were still pagan they showed that these *moai* were not deities, since at a certain time there broke out the war of overthrowing the statues, *huri moai*. They indulged in the barbarous pleasure of pulling down each others images."

The statue called Paro on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, on the north coast was the last one which remained standing. In 1915 an old man, who was a child when it was pulled down, told Routledge (194, p. 173) that the vandals were the Tupahotu-o-uta, who nursed a grudge against the Tupahotu-oone, to whom the statue belonged. A woman was eaten by the people of the eastern group, the Tupahotu-oone. In revenge her son trapped thirty of the Tupahotu-o-uta in a cave and consumed them. The image was thrown down in the struggle which followed the massacre. 173 266 727 778

That the statues were voluntarily overthrown is evidenced by many signs. The position of the images and the damage they suffered prove that they were pulled down by means of a rope or overthrown by removal of the slab on which they rested. 173 727 778

Besides the historical tradition, which seems perfectly correct and in harmony with the methods of warfare throughout Polynesia, the Easter Islanders have a legend which ascribes the destruction of some of the images to magic:

> A priest (*iri-atua*) came down from Virivovo. He entered a house near Val-maho. The men and women living in this house had eaten all the fish, the lobsters and the congers without leaving anything for the *iri-atua*. When he came into the house, he asked, "Where is the fish, the lobsters, and the congers you left for me?" They said, "It is finished." He answered, "All right." He slept in the house. With his foot he pushed the supporting post (*oka-pou*) of the house. The inhabitants of the house heard a loud noise, made by the falling statues of ahu Tonga-riki. At dawn the men of this house said, "When we were asleep the *iri-atua* pressed the post with his foot and caused the statues to fall. It is because we did not give him fish, conger, and lobster."

This legend refers to the ahu Tonga-riki only. I consider it important, not in itself, but as evidence that legends may have been created to account for rather recent events.

Another legend explains not only the overthrowing of the images but also the sudden interruption of the work in the quarry. It was heard first by 173 778

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ancient social importance. When Eyraud landed in 1863, the population was distributed in Hanga-roa, Anakena, perhaps Vaihu, and the district surrounding Rano-raraku. The missionaries concentrated the population in a single village and thus broke the last connections of the individuals with their ancestral territory. The memory of the old order survived with remarkable tenacity and as late as 1914 Routledge was able to obtain from aged natives references to lineage groups and their respective distribution. Williamson incorporated some unpublished material given him by Routledge in his study of the Easter Island political system (228, vol. 1, pp. 384-409). My study is based upon Routledge, Williamson, and new evidence which I obtained from natives.

TRIBES

Until recently the entire population of Easter Island was divided into ten paternal descent groups, called "clans" by Routledge. However, the word clan is too definite to be accurate here. I prefer the more general and more appropriate term tribe (*mata*). Although more than two thirds of the present population of Easter Island is composed of half-castes, each native knows to which tribe he belongs, either through his father, or, if the father is a foreigner, through his mother.

Probably at one time every tribe had its own territory which was known by the name of the group. Later the tribes became more scattered and isolated members or entire households of one tribe lived within the limits of another district; in some regions along the coast representatives of more than three groups were mixed. The old territorial divisions thus came to be mere districts where the main part of the *mata*, perhaps the senior line, was settled, and had little to do with the actual distribution of the tribes.

The spreading of the members of a tribe outside of the district bearing the name of the *mata* might have been the consequence of intermarriage and probably also of adoption if the adopted children kept their relationship to the paternal group. Certainly war was an agent of diffusion. Legends frequently allude to defeated people who asked for the protection of some relative among the victors. Members of the tribe which had been crushed in a war became prisoners or subjects (*kio*) of the victors. The *kio* were treated as slaves. Cana (86, p. 34) writes:

> The vanquished men fell as captives to the victor who carried off everything belonging to them including their wives and daughters. The conquered persons were forced to cultivate the ground of their owners. When the victor became tired of his slave as consequence of his age or of some illness, he drove him away and gave him permission to attend to his own affairs. The defeated man, fearing to be made a slave a second time, cultivated only a tenth of the land needed to support him and his family. He preferred to starve rather than arouse the jealousy of his enemies. According to the missionaries and other people with experience in this matter the fear of slavery has been one of the principal factors in decimating the Easter Island people who have become emaciated and consumptive.

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Gana is such a doubtful authority that we cannot know to what extent his depiction of the condition of slaves conforms to reality. It is certainly true that the vanquished were taken to the district of the victors and were employed in menial work. The transfer of families and individuals from one region to another might have aided in the mixture of the tribes.

Some tribes, the Hamea and the Raa for instance, were entirely included within the territory of another group, in this instance the Miru. This is a typical example of the subdivision of a large group into smaller groups. Three tribes (or subtribes) of the east, the Tupa-hotu, the Ureohei (Hitiura), and the Koro-orongo, had no districts of their own, but were mixed and scattered between the north coast and the south coast, east of Anakena and Akahanga, in the region called Hotu-iti. Hotu-iti might have been the name of a tribe, descended from the youngest son of Hotu-matua, which was subdivided into the above-mentioned subtribes, thus explaining the close association of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Koro-orongo as well as the absence of any distinct area belonging to each of the three groups.

Each tribe had a common ancestor, usually a son or a grandson of Hotu-matua, discoverer and first king of the island. When Hotu-matua knew death was near, he summoned a council of chiefs and the " . . . island was divided into districts and portioned out to the children of the king." To Tuu-maheke, the eldest son and successor to Hotu-matua, were given the royal establishment and lands extending northwest from Anakena as far as Maunga Teatea; to Miru, the second son, the lands between Anakena and Hanga-roa; to Marama, the third son, the land between Akahanga and Vinapu; to Raa, the fourth son, the land lying north and west of Maunga Teatea, which was called Hangoteo; to Koro-orongo (incorrectly spelled Koronga-ronga by Thomson), the fifth son, the lands between Anakena and the crater of Rano-raraku; to Hotu-iti, the sixth son, the east side of the island (215, p. 527). There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the traditional division, as, for example, the inclusion of Raa as a son of Hotu-matua. In view of the following myth which describes the complicated descent of the Hamea and Raa from the Miru through two brothers and one mother, it is quite improbable that Raa was counted among the sons of Hotu-matua as the ancestor of a primary group.

A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. Taka and Parapuna, two young men of Miru, hid in a cave below Vai-mata with a Miru woman. The woman was pregnant by the eldest brother Taka. Nine months later when she was about to be delivered, she swam with Taka and Parapuna from the cave to Mahatua, where they arrived in the night. The two brothers had a cousin married to a Tupa-hotu who lived there and they walked directly to her house. From outside they asked, "You, our dear sister, are you here?" The cousin answered, "Who are you?" "We are Taka and Parapuna and we bring your sister-in-law who is about to be delivered. That is why we came to you." Their cousin came out and they wept together. She sent them into the cave Ana Omu where they could be hidden. The pregnant woman felt the pains of

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tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, supremacy over all the tribes.

Serfs

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The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates *kio* to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

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After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have been obtained first-hand.

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When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in favor.

Secret Societies

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The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngutu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

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WAR

As reflected in legends and the accounts of missionaries, there was constant rivalry between the tribes, particularly between those of the eastern and western parts of the island. Wars were frequent and arose from the merest trifles, the principal causes being personal revenge, jealousy, greediness, and want (194, p. 360). Thomson (215, p. 476) states very pertinently that their "traditions are filled with accounts of sanguinary conflicts originating from trivial causes and continued through generations, until one party or the other were entirely exterminated." Disputes over the name of a night of the moon or a breach in etiquette might lead to war (81, vol. 38, p. 136). Generally words and blows were exchanged but people were not actually killed. The first act of war was to burn the hut of one's opponent. However even this did not always provoke war. The importance of the *matatoa* (warriors) in social organization shows the significance of war in the daily life of the island (p. 138).

Various games, principally spear and stone throwing, trained the children and the young men for war. If we may rely on Thomson (215, p. 476) these were the favorite amusements at feasts, even for grown men. A very popular legend, recorded by Roussel (190, p. 426) in 1867, and still well known, tells how young men had mock fights with spears with a blade made of calabash shell: "He hakamaa i te taua pahera" (They were learning the fight of the spears terminating in a calabash shell).

In the recently published manuscript of Father Roussel (190, p. 423) there is a very detailed and interesting account of warfare:

> When war was declared, all those who intended to take part in it smeared themselves with black and spent a sleepless night. They were busy preparing their weapons and hiding their most precious belongings. [There is no hint of human sacrifice or other offerings to the gods to procure favor.]
>
> Before daybreak the warriors set out, followed by their wives and children who accompanied them with protective chants and moans. The women and the children went to the hills nearest the battlefield to witness the victory or defeat of their husbands or fathers.
>
> As soon as their adversaries heard of the expedition they lay in ambush awaiting an opportunity to begin the fight. If they did not feel strong enough, they stayed at home and abandoned themselves to the victors who immediately started to burn and loot. Everything became prey of the flames—huts, sugar cane, and so forth. When all was burnt and looted, the vanquished were carried away indiscriminately, men, women and children, to a place chosen beforehand. On their way they satisfied their private grievances, striking the captives with cudgels was the mildest treatment. Some were buried alive and put into the oven when they died. Some were cut into pieces with an axe or trodden under the feet until their intestines burst forth. Others were burnt gradually until they died. All the cruel devices pagan barbary could invent were put to work against defenseless victims of all ages, sex and status.

A few more details, apparently authentic, are added by Thomson (215, p. 476):

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726 The clans were always led to battle by the chief, but there was no particular formation. Every man acted in accordance with his individual fancy, or as occasion demanded,
727 relying upon skill and strength. . . . The slaughter on the field of battle was never very great, but in the event of a general defeat, the vanquished party was pursued by the victors to the hiding places, their habitations destroyed, females captured, children and infirm persons brutally murdered. The defenseless unfortunates who fell victims to their merciless captors, accepted their fate, whether it was slavery, torture, or butchery, with remarkable fortitude, seldom if ever making any show of resistance.

These wars between tribes or lineages are always presented in legends according to the same pattern:

The western tribes attacked the eastern or vice versa. When one party felt that it was overwhelmed and that victory (*ao*) was with their adversaries, the warriors fled and tried to take refuge in caves (*he opo ki roto ki te ana, he pipiko*) or on the rocks or islets off the coast. The old men, the women, and the children scattered and hid in caves or in deserted places. Those who had a powerful relative among the victors put themselves under his protection. These refugees were called *pakiroki*.

727 The victorious warriors promptly invaded enemy territory, looking for the hidden people. Those who were discovered were slaughtered or taken as slaves. Sometimes the women and girls were spared and given as wives to young unmarried warriors (87, p. 31). Guards were set on the coast to prevent refugees on the islets from renewing their attacks or from getting food. They had to live on seaweed (*auke*) and on fish. Most fortunate were those who could find *poporo* berries (*Solanum nigrum*).

[266 If among the dead enemies there was a man of high rank, the victors not only ate
578] him, but burned his skull. This was considered the greatest of insults.

721 War for the modern Easter Islanders belongs to a far distant past and they know no more about it than is contained in the legends. (See pp. 363-389.) The fights with visiting Europeans were so brief that no observations of ethnological value could be made. Little material on warfare is given in missionary accounts, though a series of wars broke out in 1863 and 1864, provoked by disputes over land belonging to natives kidnapped by the Peruvians (p. 43). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 663) says: "When the crops were to be distributed there arose quarrels which degenerated into wars, the consequences of which were looting, devastation and famine." These wars were stopped by the missionaries but were renewed under the influence of Dutroux-Bornier (p. 45).

CANNIBALISM

266 Victoria Rapahango told me that when she was a small girl she had known the last *kai-tangata* (cannibal) of the island. All the children were much afraid of him. No native on the island denied that his ancestors were cannibals. Some laughed at it; others resented any allusion to such a savage custom. Most of the islanders lost their self-consciousness about cannibalism after hearing of some instances of it in Europe. Roussel (190, p. 463) writes that cannibalism was abandoned only after the introduction of Christianity. Before that natives had eaten some white men, including two Peruvian slavers. Cannibalistic meals were eaten by warriors in a secluded spot, and women and

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children were rarely admitted to such feasts. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 241) was told by natives that the fingers and toes were the most palatable bits.

Cannibalism was closely associated with war; the victors feasted on the corpses of the defeated and killed prisoners to be eaten. Geiseler (87, p. 30) says that "when they had many captives, they shut them in huts erected for that purpose in front of the stone idols. They were kept there until a great feast was celebrated for the victory and food consumed in abundance. On occasion of these feasts the victims were killed in honor of the gods." Legends tell of grown persons and children who were slaughtered during peace time by warriors craving human flesh. (See 215, p. 427; 230, vol. 6, p. 241.) These acts were deeply resented by the relatives of the victims who took cruel revenge for the crime, which was considered a terrible insult to the family.

Traditional history frequently alludes to cannibalism. The long war between the Tuu and Hotu-iti districts was indirectly caused by two men who craved human flesh (p. 74). When Tuu was victorious and the Hotu-iti people were crowded on Marotiri, the victorious party organized regular raids to kill them. The corpses were taken back in canoes and distributed among the warriors to be eaten. A quarrel about a corpse precipitated the final defeat of the Tuu district. The Hotu-iti men besieged in the caves celebrated their victory by eating some of the enemies they had slain in their successful attack. Other tales show that some individuals did not hesitate to commit murder to satisfy their appetites.

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

GROUND CULTIVATION

It is difficult to estimate the extent of cultivated ground in ancient times. Certainly the peninsula of Poike was as desolate in pre-European times as it is today, with the possible exception of the land near the three hills where some water was available. The interior of the island was apparently always sparsely inhabited. Evidences of ancient agriculture in the form of enclosures of varying sizes are found scattered over the island, generally near old ahus. According to natives, some of these enclosures were built after European contact to protect the crops from voracious sheep and goats. This statement must be true for material from ancient monuments has been used in their construction. The extent of ground so protected is not great, but if one considers the number of enclosures and the fact that many were built when the population was decreasing, it is evident that the natives took an interest in the cultivation of the soil which must not be underestimated.

Knoche, who paid some attention to the agriculture of Easter Island seems to have had a poor opinion of the native plantations of his time (1912). He

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of crabs: *pikea-uri, pikea-nahenahe, pikea-tutu-au, pikea-tura-moa, pikea-paki-maroa,* and *pikea-toetoe.*

Sea urchins (*hatuke*) are plentiful along the coast. Natives crush them between two stones and boil them. In olden days trepangs or bêche-de-mer (*pipiri*) were eaten after their skins had been rubbed off. A big Coelenterata (*otaki*) is said to have been eaten. I saw the natives eat another mollusk known as *takatore-pare.*

Islanders are still fond of small shellfish, *pipipipi-uriuri, pipi-vaka, pipi-ekaeka; pipi-neheneke, pipi-momoko, ningoningo.* Shells of sea snails are found in great quantities near ancient settlements and in caves.

HOUSES

Easter Islanders lived in thatched houses, in semi-underground houses, or in caves. All their dwellings were uncomfortable; the low houses were overcrowded, the caves dark and wet. Such indifference to comfort is not astonishing when one remembers that the natives lived mostly out-of-doors and that the houses were shelters for the night or for rainy days only. Scarcity of wood is partly responsible for the crudeness of the huts, but nothing prevented the building of more stone houses of the Orongo type. Though today all the islanders have frame houses, they are small and crowded. A few modern houses are built of stone, but this type is becoming obsolete.

CAVES

COASTAL CAVES

The coasts of Easter Island, especially along the west and north, are perforated with caves (*ana*), which have been used by the islanders either as permanent dwellings or as shelters for the night during fishing expeditions. When they are overtaken by darkness far from their homes, the natives go to sleep in the nearest cave.

Thomson, Routledge, and I have excavated the ground of several coastal caves and found hooks, bone needles, and wrought bone fragments, indicating that those caves were once occupied by day and that fishermen used them as workshops. Some caves, especially that of Ovahe, seem to have been arranged for longer occupancy. The entrances are protected by stone walls, and inside are stone platforms on which to sleep. Some of these platforms are covered with a layer of straw—testimony that the natives still sleep there. The largest of these caves is Ana-havea on the south coast.

INLAND CAVES

The name *hare-kionga* designates inland caves or subterranean lava tubes, where defeated people are said to have taken refuge during wars. That this was the essential purpose of these strange dwellings we do not know, but the

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and it is very rare to find them still in place, as they were comparatively light, weighing from one to two hundredweight, and easily carried off. Even the heavier stones were at times seized upon as booty in enemy raids; one measuring 15 feet was pointed out to us near an ahu on the south coast, which had been brought all the way from the north side of the island. In the middle of one side of the house was a doorway, and in the front of it a porch, which had also stone foundations. The whole space in front of the house was neatly paved with water-worn boulders, in the same manner as the ahu. This served as a stoep on which to sit and talk, but its practical utility was obvious to ourselves in the rainy seasons, when the entrance to our tents and houses became deep in mud (fig. 84A). Near the main abode was a thatched house which contained the native oven, the stones of which are often still in place. The cooking was done Polynesian fashion: a hole about 15 inches deep is lined with flat stones, a fire is made within, and, when the stones are sufficiently heated, the food, wrapped up in parcels, is stacked within and covered with earth, a fire being lighted on the top.

Many of the surviving old people were born and brought up in these houses, which are known as "haré paenga." The old man, for example, before alluded to, who was brought out to Raraku, roved round the mountain telling with excitement who occupied the different houses in the days of his youth. He gave a particularly graphic description of the scene after sundown, when all were gathered within for the evening meal. In addition to the main door, there was, he said, an opening near each end by which the food was passed in and then from hand to hand; as perfect darkness reigned, a sharp watch had to be kept that it all reached its proper owners. He lay down within the old foundations to show how the inhabitants slept. This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the centre in couples, and the younger ones in the ends. The largest of these houses, which had some unique features, measured 122 feet in length, with an extreme width of 12 feet; but some 50 feet by 5 feet or 6 feet are more usual measurements. They were often shared by related families and held anything from ten to thirty, or even more, persons.

The food consisted of the usual tropical produce, such as

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411 used both as a spear and as a javelin. A site is pointed out near Anakena, where a man throwing down hill killed another at about thirty-five yards. The art of making these mataa is, of course, practically extinct, but one old man, commonly known as "Hé" (fig. 83) brought us some which he had manufactured himself for the Expedition, and which were fairly well wrought.

622 With the exception of the Miru, of which more will be said, there were no chiefs nor any form of government; any man who was expert in war became a leader. The warfare consisted largely of spasmodic and isolated raids; an aggrieved person 726 gathered together his neighbours and descended on the offenders. It is related incidentally that one man, going along the south coast, "found war going on," one set of men having blocked up another in a cave. Another story is told of six men, called Gwaruti-mata-keva, of the clan Tupahotu, who lived in a cave in a certain hillock on the south coast, known as Toa-toa. They went round in a boat to Hanga Piko, stole fish, and returned rapidly to their cave. A hundred men from Hanga Piko then came overland to punish the robbery, and made a fire of grass before the cave in which the men lay hidden. When the attackers assumed that the enemy were all dead from suffocation, they went into the cave; but those within had buried their faces in holes scraped in the earth, and when the men from Hanga Piko entered, they arose and slew the whole hundred. 575 A more interesting fact came out incidentally in connection with this gang of Toa-toa, connecting them with the secret societies found elsewhere in the Pacific. They were, it was said, in the habit of going about after dark with their faces painted red, white, and black, and visiting houses, where they declared they were gods, and demanded food, which the inhabitants accordingly gave them. The fraud, however, finally came to light when one day a man, who was travelling with his servant, saw them washing paint off their faces, "so they knew that they had deceived the people, and the people gathered together and killed them."

●727 In these internecine fights fire was very generally set to the enemy's dwellings. ("He often burnt houses," a young man said, pointing to an older one, and the impeachment was not denied. The ahu, too, were raided and bodies burnt, which [764] seems to be the cause of the burnt bones recorded by certain travellers; there is no reason to suppose there was cremation or sacrifice on Easter Island.

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or sacrifice on Easter Island. It was in this sort of warfare that the last images were overthrown.

While legends record how many people were eaten after each affray, all living persons deny, with rather striking unanimity, not only that they themselves have ever been cannibals, but that their fathers were so. If this is correct, the custom was dying out for some reason before the advent of Christianity;[1] their grandfathers, the old people admit, ate human flesh, but, if there were any rites connected with it, they "did not tell." The great-grandmother of an old man of the Miru clan was, according to his account, killed on the high central part of the island by the Ureohei and eaten. In revenge for the outrage, one of her sons, Hotu by name, killed sixty of the Ureohei. Another son, who had pacifist leanings, thought the feud ought then to be ended, but Hotu desired yet more victims, and there was a violent quarrel between the two brothers, in which the peace-maker was struck on the head with a club; for, as Hotu remarked, if they had slain his father, it would have been different, but really to eat his mother was "no good."

Our acquaintance with the person said to have been "the last cannibal," or rather with his remains, came about accidentally during the time when I was alone on the island. A little party of us had ridden to the top of the volcano Rano Kao; and on the southern side of the crater, that opposite Orongo, some of the natives were pointing out the legendary sites connected with the death of the first immigrant chief, Hotu-matua. Suddenly one of them vanished into a crevice in the rocks, and reappeared brandishing a thigh-bone to call attention to its large size. I dismounted, scrambled into a little grotto, or natural cave, where a skeleton was extended; the skull was missing, but the jaw-bone was present, and the rest of the bones were in regular order; the individual had either died there or been buried. Bones were in the department of the absent member of the Expedition, but it was of course essential to collect them, from the view of determining race, and the natives never resented our doing so. I therefore passed these out, packed them in grass

[1] Since writing the above the following has been seen: "The higher Polynesian races, such as the Tahitians, Hawaiians, Samoans, had one and all outgrown, and some of them had in part forgot, the practice (cannibalism) before Cook or Bougainville had shown a top-sail in their waters."—*In the South Seas*, R. L. Stevenson, p. 94.